Spirits and Places 9

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'u?u			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wił* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

231 cattle was seized by bandits or soldiers. It is "new" only in the size of the
233 holdings, which have expanded from ownership of one or two head per household, primarily useful as draft animals, to a herd as large as two hundred head belonging to the wealthiest man in town. Cattle rearing is now a capital investment for resale as well as for draft animals in plow agriculture.

233 The increasing herds have stimulated competition for community re-
311 sources. The control of communal grazing and waterhole rights is exer-
312 cised through the traditional dual division of the town, with rights to pas-
621 ture allocated on the basis of residence in the upper or lower barrio of the
575 center. An association of cattle owners has developed in each of the sections, and the leaders of each association call together all members to clean the water holes and repair the troughs. A recent project of the cattle association of the upper section has been the erection of a large cross at the
[789] water hole. The water had dried up the year before, and the installation of the cross was an attempt to ensure a continuous supply of water in the fu-
[796] ture. The priest blessed the cross in the dedication, and the fiscal and prayer-reciters adorn it each year on May 3, the Day of the Cross in the old Catholic calendar, along with other crosses of the village.

233 Cattle grazing is the source of much of the conflict in the town. The cat-
621 tle roam freely in the woods and communal pasture lands, and many are
578 lost or stolen. The cattle association has not fenced in the pasture in order
575 to control it. Their tactics have been punitive; they have raised funds from
627 among members to hire men to kill suspected cattle thieves. In the last twenty years, six men have been killed as cattle thieves, and at least three of those were known to be killed by men hired by the association, which then paid the court fines to set the killers free. The leader of one of the cattle associations was killed after an incident in which he fined a man who had failed to assist in cleaning the water holes. The fine of 2 pesos per head of cattle represented a large fee for the man, who had sixty head. He refused to pay more than half, since he said he had not been notified.
[754] When his daughter later died of illness, he blamed her death on witchcraft exercised by the cattle association leader, and later killed him.

231 Cattle are only minimally exploited as a resource. The cattle are not
434 butchered locally since there is not a large enough market, but are sold to

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [580] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

621 [575] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[574] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of